1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

101 the same language, have the same customs, dress in the same way, live in the same country, have the same T'u-ssu organization and so generally are considered to be of the same stock.

The Chinese when speaking of Hsifan (Tibetans), or of other Mongols living in the country or in Kukunor, never use the term T'u-jen, but always the terms Hsifan, etc. The question, therefore, is whether the Chinese, in calling the Shat'o and the Monguors T'u-jen, mean a people belonging by birth to the country but whose ancestors migrated from other countries to Hsining, or the original inhabitants of the country. Because the term has this double meaning, it is certainly used in both meanings.

Huc and Gabet call the Monguors Dschiahour, interpreted as "sinised Mongols." This is the term used by the Tibetans of the country. Prjevalski and Father de Smedt heard Tibetans calling them K'arlong. Potanin calls them Shirongols. Father Mostaert heard Mongols in Mongolia referring to them as Dolot; Prjevalski calls them Daldy (the same word), and the Monguors call themselves Monguor. Potanin states that they are also called White Mongols, and Chzhahor. According to Father A. Mostaert the name Monguor is merely a variant of the name Mongol. In the Monguor language, words which in other Mongol dialects end with an *l*, end with an *r*. The written sources and the tradition, however, clearly establish the fact that not all of the Monguors are of Mongol origin. There are no data, however, to explain the process by which the Shat'o group lost its original Turkish language and adopted that of the Monguors. There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that the name T'u-jen, by which the Chinese call the Monguors, is incorrect since in ancient and medieval times the region now inhabited by the Monguors was intermittently and alternatingly occupied by various tribes. The explanation of the Chinese term is, however, sufficiently obvious. The Chinese military colonists transplanted to the region at the opening of the Ming dynasty must have assumed that the Monguor "natives" whom they found there were "aborigines" who had always been there.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONGUORS

• 197 The language of the Monguors has been studied by the Fathers A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt.[15] Father A. Mostaert writes me:

> The language spoken by the Monguors is a Mongol dialect, with peculiar archaic characteristics concerning both the phonetics and the vocabulary . . .

[15] A. De Smedt et A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kan-su occidental. Ire partie: Phonétique.* Anthropos, Vienna, Leo-Gesellschaft **24**: 145–164 et 801–815; **25**: 657–665 et 961–973; **26**: 253. *IIme partie. Grammaire.* Monumenta Serica Monograph **6**, Peking, Catholic Univ., 1945. *IIIme partie: Dictionnaire Monguor-Français.* Publication de l'Université Catholique de Pékin, Peiping, 1933. A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu and their language. *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking* **8**, 1931.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

197 The Monguor morphology also differs from that of the Mongol dialects.

The Monguor dialect borrowed a large number of words both from the Tibetan and mostly from the Chinese languages; the words borrowed from Turkish are less numerous.

These facts secure to the Monguor dialect a peculiar aspect, and make it so extremely different from other Mongol dialects, that Monguors are unable to converse either with eastern or with western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language.

HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE ENIGMA

175 The grouping of Mongol and Shat'o tribes which resulted in the formation of the Monguor people was effected in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Subudei, one of Chingis Khan's greatest commanders, invaded Hsining on his way to Lan-chou.[16] In 1275, according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 7*a*), a Mongol army was sent to fight the turbulent T'ufan (Tibetans) whose nomad pastures

[16] H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, 290, 291, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950. This work contains a valuable discussion of this campaign.

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/2 cont'd/

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> Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

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These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

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The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

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The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

[16 cont.]

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Consonants

	Laryn-gals	Velars**	Medio-gutturals**	Pre-gutturals	Palatals	Palatalized*
S	h	ġ x	g k	y	ž š dž tš	s dz ts
M	χ	Ǧ Ƶ	G k'	y	Ƶ ş DƵ ţş	ś ƵƵ ţś'
A	h	g̣ x̣	g kh	y	ž š dž tšh	ṣ̌ d̂ẓ t̂ṣ

	Dentals	Dentilabials	Labials**	Liquids	Nasals
S	d t s dz ts	f	b p w f	r l	ń n m
M	D t' ş DƵ ţş'	f	B p' w f	r l, r	ŋ n m
A	đ th s đz tsh	f	b ph w ff	r l	ń, ŋ n m

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iä, and before i.

** g, ġ, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "g," "ġ," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "ts," "s," "ts," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "t" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iä." For instance, in place of dzia (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104 197 Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the [192] DMF, Ǧar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

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/Kansu Monguors/

peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring tribes."

b. language

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The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Oïrats, etc.

c. clan divisions

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According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

2. Physical characteristics

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Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to), Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

S
19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitčg (or bitčįg)
čimůgen "hammer"	tčimgn̥
čirai "face"	tčirē

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ŏ in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	ŏwsn̥
ebůddg "knee"	ŏwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	ŏwtčn̥
elgů- "to hang"	ŏlg-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaɣai "large and flat"	dalwaɣā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moɣai "snake"	moɣā
alɣui "name of a plant"	alɣū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N B. . The Monguor Language

*563 [197] M [197] One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also because it is under the influence of initial forms which are characteristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them M [101] [361] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor) live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M 19 The following observations may be made about the Monguor language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *ɸ as *f and as *χ: